Course information: Debt, once considered a kind of sin, has now become more universal than sin itself. Debt is literally (and metaphorically) everywhere—it defines the globe in its social relations. But is an interconnected world of mutual obligations a more peaceful, productive, or happier world? This interdisciplinary course studies the role of debt creation in the making of society, the reasons why debt has been reviled and praised, as well as the personal effect that debt has on individuals, families and nations who labor against its horizon. We will study the relation between debt and labor in contemporary America, the politics of international and national debt, the illusions and necessities of debt economies, and the wonderful world of predatory lending and its forms of precarity. Course readings consist of philosophical, anthropological, sociological, economic, literary, political and journalistic texts from the ancient world to the present, with a focus on the emergence of a social theory centered on getting and spending, lending and borrowing, obligation and liberation.

Area proposed course will serve: A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study. It is the responsibility of the chair/director to ensure that all faculty teaching the course are aware of the General Studies designation(s) and adhere to the above guidelines.

Contact information:
Name: Eric Oberle  E-mail: eoberle@asu.edu  Phone: 650-520-4111

Proposals must be submitted electronically with all files compiled into one PDF.

Rev. 10/2020
Department Chair/Director approval: *(Required)*

Chair/Director name (Typed): Kevin Ellsworth  
Date: 4/2/2021

Chair/Director (Signature): 

[Signature Image]
Rationale and Objectives

Recent trends in higher education have called for the creation and development of historical consciousness in undergraduates now and in the future. History studies the growth and development of human society from a number of perspectives such as—political, social, economic and/or cultural. From one perspective, historical awareness is a valuable aid in the analysis of present-day problems because historical forces and traditions have created modern life and lie just beneath its surface. From a second perspective, the historical past is an indispensable source of identity and of values, which facilitate social harmony and cooperative effort. Along with this observation, it should be noted that historical study can produce intercultural understanding by tracing cultural differences to their origins in the past. A third perspective on the need for historical awareness is that knowledge of history helps us to learn from the past to make better, more well-informed decisions in the present and the future.

The requirement of a course that is historical in method and content presumes that "history" designates a sequence of past events or a narrative whose intent or effect is to represent both the relationship between events and change over time. The requirement also presumes that these are human events and that history includes all that has been felt, thought, imagined, said, and done by human beings. The opportunities for nurturing historical consciousness are nearly unlimited. History is present in the languages, art, music, literatures, philosophy, religion, and the natural sciences, as well as in the social science traditionally called History.

The justifications for how the course fits each of the criteria need to be clear both in the application tables and the course materials. The Historical Awareness designation requires consistent analysis of the broader historical context of past events and persons, of cause and effect, and of change over time. Providing intermittent, anecdotal historical context of people and events usually will not suffice to meet the Historical Awareness criteria. A Historical Awareness course will instead embed systematic historical analysis in the core of the syllabus, including readings and assignments. For courses focusing on the history of a field of study, the applicant needs to show both how the field of study is affected by political, social, economic, and/or cultural conditions AND how political, social, economic, and/or cultural conditions are affected by the field of study.

Revised October 2015
Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

### ASU--[H] CRITERIA

THE HISTORICAL AWARENESS [H] COURSE MUST MEET THE FOLLOWING CRITERIA:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES</th>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Identify Documentation Submitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>1. History is a major focus of the course.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>2. The course examines and explains human development as a sequence of events influenced by a variety of factors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>3. There is a disciplined systematic examination of human institutions as they change over time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>✗</td>
<td>✗</td>
<td>4. The course examines the relationship among events, ideas, and artifacts and the broad social, political and economic context.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

THE FOLLOWING ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE:

- Courses that are merely organized chronologically.
- Courses which are exclusively the history of a field of study or of a field of artistic or professional endeavor.
- Courses whose subject areas merely occurred in the past.
Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the specific designation criteria. Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria (from checksheet)</th>
<th>How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)</th>
<th>Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>History is a major focus of the class</td>
<td>The course treats the institution of debt NOT as a static and mechanical economic function but as a still-unfolding social and historical phenomenon.</td>
<td>see course description, syllabus, and assignments. Color code Yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The course examines and explains human development as a sequence of events influenced by a variety of factors</td>
<td>This course is fundamentally historical in nature, and considers an unusually long scope. It uses the concept of debt to tell the emergence of the state, economy and rights. It requires students to develop a sense of historical sequencing of the different kinds of social organization implied by the institutions and discourses of debt, such as the articulation of potlatch, of barter, of debt jubilees and financially backed &quot;social death&quot; of slavery and imperialism.</td>
<td>see course description, syllabus, and assignments. Color code blue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a disciplined systematic examination of human institutions as they change over time.</td>
<td>This is a historical studies course that emphasizes an interdisciplinary approach to knowledge and requires students to articulate genealogies of values relative to the state of economic development.</td>
<td>see course description, syllabus, and assignments. Color code green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The course examines the relation among events, ideas, and artifacts and the broad social, political, and economic context.</td>
<td>This is a global historical survey structured around one of the concepts and institutions (next to religion, science and direct domination/enslavement) that provides the most coherent &quot;broad sweep&quot; of social, political and economic contexts.</td>
<td>see course description, syllabus, and assignments. Color code : red</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Course Description
IDS 312 Integrative Perspectives on Change

Applies integrative and interdisciplinary tools, methods, knowledge and skills to examine ideas, issues and institutions as they change over time.
Debt, once considered a kind of sin, has now become more universal than sin itself. Debt is literally (and metaphorically) everywhere—it defines the globe in its social relations. But is an interconnected world of mutual obligations a more peaceful, productive, or happier world? This interdisciplinary course studies the role of debt creation in the making of society, the reasons why debt has been reviled and praised, as well as the personal effect that debt has on individuals, families and nations who labor against its horizon. We will study the relation between debt and labor in contemporary America, the politics of international and national debt, the illusions and necessities of debt economies, and the wonderful world of predatory lending and its forms of precarity. Course readings consist of philosophical, anthropological, literary, political and journalistic texts from the ancient world to the present, with a focus on the emergence of a social theory centered on getting and spending, lending and borrowing.

**Week 1 Introduction: The Meaning of Debt**

*August 23rd*

Introductions & Course Requirements. American myths of Debt and Freedom.

Before class, Watch: season 1, Episode 05 “Henry to the Rescue,” *Thomas the Train Engine and Friends*, plus read: “The Baffling Economics of The Island Of Sodor,” “Thomas the Imperial Train Engine”; “The Sharing Economy was Dead on Arrival”; “The Long Road to the Student Debt Crisis”; and “For Millenials, Venmo is an Emotional Wrecking Ball.”

In class, watch (after class, finish): “Money as Debt” (youtube film)

**Week 2: Biblical Notions of Debt and Morality (as pilloried by Nietzsche)**

*August 30th*

Excerpts: “Lord’s prayer” (Nicean creed and others); Deuteronomy 15 (on Jubilee); Gospels (Matthew 10-12), *Qu'ran* on Debts (Surahs 1 & 12); Tyndale and Wycliffe on Trespass and Debt; Aquinas, “On Usury & the Just Price” (excerpt)

Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Genealogy of Morals*: Chapter 1, 2

**Reflection 1Honor and Rationality** Nietzsche’s *Genealogy of Morals* argues that rationality does not have pure origins, but emerges from the history of debt and domination. Drawing on quotations from the text, show how Nietzsche’s speculative history of the development of rationality over time can help analyze the institionalization of domination, social roles, codes of honor, but also their opposites: religious obligation, devotion to a higher cause, and concepts of transcendent law.

**OR**

**Student Debt from a Consumer and a Sociological Perspective** Analyze the “debt market” from a subjective position (what does debt mean to you as a debtor) and an objective position (what does it mean for society to create a nation of debtors and lenders). Reflecting on the role of debt in your life and that of others, consider the fairness of comparing different kinds of debt (consumer versus student debt versus national debt.)
(All reflections due Sunday by Midnight)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Week 3: Anthropological and Market Views of Obligation and the Making</th>
<th>September 6th</th>
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<tr>
<th>Week 4: Honor and Sex, Death and Taxes</th>
<th>September 13th</th>
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</table>
Reflection 2: Debt and Morality. David Graeber’s *Debt: the First 5000 years*, argues that ancient society was constituted by reciprocal debt relations, whereas he sees the modern financialization of debt as eroding social cohesion, atomizing the relation between individual and state, and encouraging predatory hierarchies. Explain Graeber’s argument and weigh its significance for thinking about how human institutions change over time. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 5: The Enlightenment and the Beginning of Modern Money, Debt, and Labor</th>
<th>Sept. 20th</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (1776), excerpt  
Turgot, “Paper on Lending at Interest,” (1770); Letter to Louis, King of France (1774)  
Kant, *Metaphysics of Morals* (excerpt) |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 6: Financialization, Social Debt, and Slavery</th>
<th>September 27th</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (Chapters 1-5); Abbé Raynal, *History of the Two Indes* (excerpt).  
Reflection 3: Slavery, Debt and Finance Steven Deyle’s *Carry me Back* tells the story of American slavery’s expansion after the end of the international slave trade. Explain how the projected “end” of slavery expanded the value of slaves, extended financial speculation, and transformed its connection to global and American capitalism. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 7: Religious Prohibitions on Debt Revisited</th>
<th>October 4th</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 8: Debt and Religious Difference in the Renaissance</th>
<th>October 11th</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*  
E.P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century" |
Reflection 4: Usury and Human Equality

Shakespeare’s *Merchant of Venice* surveys the way in which religion, caste, and emotion interacted in Medieval and Renaissance society. Reflect on the social roles represented by the characters—the caste-restricted money-lender, the traders hoping that his “ship will come in” from colonial trade, the priests who exhort people to abjure “vanity and wealth” and the women of Venice, trying to find “value” in the marriage market. Ask yourself how Marx, Graeber, or Nietzsche would analyze the social roles here, and ask what functional role the hatred of Jews (or of Usury) plays in the society depicted as well as in Shakespeare’s art of tragedy.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Week 9: Debt as a weapon; is <em>Laissez-Faire</em> “hands off” in the Developing World?</th>
<th>Oct. 18th</th>
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<tr>
<th>Week 10: The Rise of Large Scale Enterprise, or the Moral Arc of Finance</th>
<th>Oct 25th</th>
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</table>

Reflection 5 Capital Accumulation and the Progress of Man

Marx argues that the advance of capital is the advance of civilization, but that the turning over of social power to capitalism and money rather than people and politics is at the same time regressive. Georg Simmel sees the global expansion of money as creating new horizons of cultural possibility for human beings and new kinds of pathologies. What insights are to be gained by seeing Marx and Simmel as largely agreeing about the “logic of capital” and its differential effects on different classes of society?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 11: Debt, Money &amp; the Shape of Modern Life: Debt and Life Chances</th>
<th>Nov 1st</th>
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</table>

Reflection 6 The regulation of the Casino and everyday life? *The Lehman Trilogy* and *The Big Short* are both stories of the interaction of the financial industry with the history of individual generations. They are also stories about the changing regulatory regime that governs banking, housing, personal and corporate investment. Write a reflection that connects (and shows the disjunction) between the moral economies of the very wealthy (or the financial industry as system) and those who must borrow in order to live.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week 12: Keynes and his despisers: The Great Depression and its Solution</th>
<th>Nov 8th</th>
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Reflection 7 The Many Paradoxes of Thrift

*The Washington Post* recently ran an editorial arguing that the advent of negative interest rates endangered the moral fabric of society. Reflect
on the logic of this claim in relation to J.M Keynes and Thorstein Veblen: in what ways does the market indeed set up a fabric of social emulation that we can call “morality” and in what ways does the market competition for status drive utterly blind and immoral imitation? Does the rate of interest have anything to do with answering this question? What about the minimum wage / return on labor?

Week 13: Financial Crises 1980-present and their Culture Nov 15th

Reflection 8 “Insurance Company with a sideline in Aircraft Carriers” Paul Krugman’s “Babysitting Club” essay presents a very different understanding of the morality of the Federal Reserve than does Murray Rothbard. Describe how their political, legal, and moral reasoning creates different notions of the economic self, the governmental role in individual life, and the “morality” of an expanding money supply. (If you wish, you might want to reflect upon J.M. Keynes’s view concerning the deflationary effect of the gold standard and its role in creating international crises.)

Week 14: Ecological Debt and Excuses Nov 22nd
Read: Ramachandra Gua, *How Much Should One Person Consume?*, Chapters 1-3 “Clean Coal and the Tax Cuts”

Week 15: Debt & Human Rights Nov 29th
Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World*

Reflection 9: On the Relation between Individual Rights and Property A powerful current of enlightenment thinking equated the security of the rights of property with the maintenance of human freedom. This view has suffered the judgment of history and practice—our awareness that the right to exist is, sadly, not guaranteed by the rights of property, that markets are neither self-regulating nor efficient distributors of rights. Write a reflection on Gua and Moyn’s depiction of the post-World War II struggle to incorporate a living wage and an ecological or social notion of restraint into the idea of rights theory.

Course objectives

The course materials and instructional time will be devoted to helping students acquire:

1. A basic social studies framework for explaining debt role in global society.
2. A basic historical understanding of how debt, labor and the economy have changed over time.
3. The critical thinking skills essential for making well-reasoned arguments about the meaning and implication of individual and collective debts in their own lives and those of others.
4. The ability to analyze case studies on the language and implications of debt from a multifactorial and interdisciplinary standpoint. For example, students will explore how debt talk can
structure familial, national and international political rhetoric. They will apply this, for example, to analyze how the misuse of "austerity programs" has create human rights disasters in developing nations.

5. To expose students to other cultures, religions, and peoples in a way that will help attune them to the implications of financialization of societal obligation.

6. A working theory of interdisciplinary inquiry that allows economic arguments, theories and facts to be placed in relation to social, political, moral and scientific ones.

**Student Learning Outcomes**

**Successful completion of the course will make students proficient in:**

1. Explaining the logic of debt in traditional and modern societies from the perspective of lenders, borrowers, and the economic system.

2. Synthesizing a multidisciplinary (sociological, anthropological, ethico-religious, economic, political, cultural) history of the modern debt economy and its relation to other ethical, moral, or political forms of decision-making.

3. Analyzing the value as well as the pitfalls of any given debt model to individuals, institutions, and nations.

4. Explaining how large injections of debt and/or money can improve and destroy established social relations.

5. Explaining the role of debt in traditional as well as modern society.

6. Being able to articulate reasons for social decision making that are not fundamentally based on a borrower/owner or income/debt model.

**“The Social Contract”**

Every time you enter a college classroom, you tacitly agree to uphold your end of the fundamental *social contract* of learning, avowing that you are present in good faith and ready to contribute to your education and the education of others. The social contract of learning involves responsibilities to other students, to yourself, and to your professor: it is your responsibility to improve the intellectual intensity and focus, clarity and ambition of the class discussion. Upholding the contract of learning requires coming prepared to discuss the readings and to ask questions about the readings and lectures. It requires that you listen to others’ comments and work to clarify and even contest their contributions. It requires that you work with others politely and respectfully, and that you resist the impulse to “play it cool,” letting others do the work for you. And just to be clear, it is part of my job to notice these things, and to make your grade take account of how you help the class progress.

Your participation grade depends upon upholding your end of the bargain. You will also find that your enjoyment of the class depends on the degree to which all students uphold the social contract. Only by working together can we maintain a sense of community and of intellectual adventure in our class. If at any time you feel that the learning atmosphere in the class could be improved, please come talk to me, as your concern is almost certainly shared by others.
Course Readings
The following books have been ordered for your purchase at the ASU Tempe bookstore:


On the course website, I have also provided amazon links to the books in case you choose to purchase them elsewhere in order to help ensure that you obtain the correct edition. You will undoubtedly find it both inconvenient and disadvantageous if your pagination and translations vary from the text we are using.

While the readings for the class have been outlined above, reading assignments are subject to change. For many of the readings, I will put out a post ahead of time giving some guidance as to some of the themes and or pages on which I would like you to focus. If there is nothing posted, of course, you should assume that we are reading the whole book, though with the *caveat* (which I explain in another course handout) that I do not expect you to *master* the texts on your first reading—no one could do that—only to gain a kind of literacy and conversation with them. More on this as class progresses!

Class Work and Grading Basis
Your progress in this class will be measured through your participation in class and your performance in the reading reflections and weekly reading response assignments.

*Grading Components*

I. Reading Reflections 60%
II. Participation and Attendance 25%
   Quotation and Questions Assignment: 15%

The reflections are graded on a 100 point scale. You must do five of them to pass the class, and the category is graded on a 600 point scale. You may, however, do all nine reflections and your responses will be added to this scale. This is the only “extra credit” I assign (but it is significant!)

Quotation and Concept Handout
Twice in the semester you will select a passage from that day’s reading and help guide a discussion on it. The form of what you turn in is as follows. First, at the top of your page, you should type in one or two passages from the reading that you consider to be significant. (For films this will mean simply that you will note scenes by minute number). Thereafter you should write a few sentences briefly describing why you consider the passage to be important, and noting what key concepts the passage involves. You should continue by writing out a number of questions you think it would be helpful to pose about the passage.

These assignments must be posted online by midnight the day before class; you should bring a hard copy to class. In class I will attempt to work your selections into the day’s discussion, and you should also seek opportunities to examine your chosen passage or themes and concepts related to it. The ideal assignment will contribute organically to the class discussion. Please note, however: not all reading selections can ultimately be acknowledged and discussed in the course of a session.
The selections will be graded on a 50-point-plus scale, like that of the Reading Responses (see below). In this case, however, your grade will depend in part on the quality of your work, regardless of whether the class discussed it, and partly on the quality of the discussion itprovokes and structures.

In-Class Expectations
Our class time will be divided between short lectures, discussions, and small-group discussions and activities. No matter what the planned activity, you are expected to come to every class session prepared to discuss the weekly reading. No matter how far you have read through each book, you should arrive in class with a fresh impression of the text and an opinion about the kinds of issues you would like to discuss. Please bring your book to every class session: I frequently call on students to read passages aloud in class, and it will count against your participation grade if you cannot fulfill this role. You actually receive discussion points for having the book at hand; so necessarily you lose points for not having it.

Although it is rare to have such issues, let it be said here that if you engage in disruptive behavior—insulting, aggressive, threatening, illegal activity, dress in a way that is wildly inappropriate—I will take appropriate action that can include anything from expulsion from the class or reduction of your discussion grade.

Electronic Devices
This class includes a substantial graded discussion component. I started teaching before smart phones and laptops were practical for classroom use. And though I love my computer and cell phone, I have seen electronic devices of all sorts (computers, tablets, phones, smart watches) prove too much of a temptation for many: students have failed my classes because they lack the maturity to control themselves in the face of Facebook. For these reasons, I forbid **any use of any electronic devices in class unless you complete an “electronic device contract” with me.** I generally allow recording of class sessions if they are for personal study use only; they may not be made public without explicit permission. If you wish to use a computer for note taking, you will need to agree to post your notes to the course website each week. Phones have no legitimate classroom use. If you do not have a contract, you will need to put the device away. If you do it anyway (compulsive texters beware), an F for participation for the day.

Contacting Me
Email: eoberle@asu.edu. If you have any questions, or simply want to talk about something, the best way of contacting me is by talking to me after class. Second best is coming to office hours, or asking me for an appointment to do so. Email is, in other words, the third best way to communicate. Sometimes, when things are time sensitive or there is a confusion, email is best. Being able to sort these things out is part of learning how to be considerate in the use of email. But as a general rule at the University: don’t expect immediate or necessarily individual response; don’t expect professors to recount the last class via email, please remember to be polite and slightly formal (though you need not be robotically stiff, don’t write “Hey, Oberle” for your emails. Also, please, please proofread: -read your emails (aloud if necessary) before hitting the ‘send’ button. And above all, remember that this is the third best method of communicating. Often, my response will be something like a short “Thank you, I’ll address this in a forum post” or “Please come discuss this with me during office hours, or by appointment.” I do not mean to be impersonal, but keep in mind that there are many of you and only one of me and I try to triage needs. That all said—please ask any and all questions that come to mind. If you have asked a question that other students need answered, you have done the entire class a favor, and it may be best for me to address my response to the class.

One last special note about email—it is not for turning in your assignments except under previous arrangement. Assignments should be turned in on the course website, in Microsoft Word or PDF format.
Attendance, Absences, Extensions

Participation is a central part of this class. You are expected to come to class and to contribute to discussions. You are expected to come prepared to class with the books in hand and with a preliminary interpretation of the works.

I take attendance, but I also track your performance via the online system. The system of reading responses is set up on a point system to allow maximal flexibility, as is the flexible due dates for the course paper(s). You have a lot of flexibility as to which reading assignments to complete, but by the same token, it is important to do something every week. You set your own course in this regard, but all of this means as well that I cannot accept work past the online deadlines.

Extensions will be granted only in exceptional cases. If you need an extension on an assignment you must work it out with me before the due date. Late papers will be marked down one third of a letter grade for every day late.

Students must adhere to university policies for the observance of religious practices in accordance with policy ACD 304-04, “Accommodation for Religious Practices”.

Students wishing to obtain an excused absence(s) for university sanctioned events/activities must follow policy ACD 304-02, “Missed Classes Due to University-Sanctioned Activities”. Students who participate in line-of-duty activities will be provided make-up assignments, examinations, or other graded coursework missed because of required work performed in the line-of-duty, without penalty. See university policy: ACD304-11; SSM 201-18: Accommodating Active Duty Military asu.edu/aad/manuals/ssm/ssm201-18.html for details. Students should discuss individual concerns with their instructor.

Disability Resources

Arizona State University works to provide support for college students with disabilities. If you need academic accommodation for a disability, please contact the Disabilities Resources, which is located in the Sutton Hall, Suite 240. You will need to provide documentation of a disability from Disabilities Resources before receiving accommodation for this class.

Phone: (480) 727-1039

Offensive Course Material

Please note that some course content may be deemed offensive by some students, although it is not my intention to offend anyone. In addition, some materials that we link with online might also be considered offensive, troubling, or difficult to review in terms of language or graphics. I attempt to provide warnings when introducing this kind of material; yet if I forget to do so, or if something else (in my materials or posts from fellow students) seems offensive, please contact me first at eoiberle@asu.edu. or the faculty head, Kevin Ellsworth at Kevin.Ellsworth@asu.edu.

ASU asks its professors to place on their syllabi some portion of the general rules of student and civil conduct. I include all of this material below. I did not write it. If you have questions about any of it, please ask me and we can figure it out together:

Classroom Behavior

We want to build a classroom climate that is comfortable for all. It is important that we (1) display respect for all members of the classroom – including the instructor and students; (2) pay attention to and participate in all class sessions and activities; (3) avoid unnecessary disruption during class time (e.g. having private conversations, reading the newspaper, surfing the Internet, doing work for other classes, making/receiving phone calls, text messaging, etc.); and (4) avoid racist, sexist, homophobic,
or other negative language that may unnecessarily exclude members of our campus and classroom. This is not an exhaustive list of behaviors; rather, it represents examples of the types of things that can have a dramatic impact on the class environment. Your final grade may be reduced by 5% each time you engage in these sorts of behaviors.

**Ensuring a Safe Environment**

Learning takes place best when a safe environment is established in the classroom. In accordance with [SSM 104-02 of the Student Services Manual](https://example.com/ssm104-02), students enrolled in this course have a responsibility to support an environment that nurtures individual and group differences and encourages engaged, honest discussions. The success of the course rests on your ability to maintain a safe environment where everyone feels comfortable to share and explore ideas. We must also be willing to take risks and ask critical questions. Doing so will effectively contribute to our own and others intellectual and personal growth and development. We welcome disagreements in the spirit of critical academic exchange, but please remember to be respectful of others’ viewpoints, whether you agree with them or not.

All incidents and allegations of violent or threatening conduct by an ASU student (whether on- or off-campus) must be reported to the ASU Police Department (ASU PD) and the Office of the Dean of Students. If either office determines that the behavior poses or has posed a serious threat to personal safety or to the welfare of the campus, the student will not be permitted to return to campus or reside in any ASU residence hall until an appropriate threat assessment has been completed and, if necessary, conditions for return are imposed. ASU PD, the Office of the Dean of Students, and other appropriate offices will coordinate the assessment in light of the relevant circumstances.

**Title IX: Classrooms without Discrimination, Violence and Harassment**

Title IX is a federal law that provides that no person be excluded on the basis of sex from participation in, be denied benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity. Both Title IX and university policy make clear that sexual violence and harassment based on sex is prohibited. An individual who believes they have been subjected to sexual violence or harassed on the basis of sex can seek support, including counseling and academic support, from the university. If you or someone you know has been harassed on the basis of sex or sexually assaulted, you can find information and resources at sexualviolenceprevention.asu.edu/faqs. As a mandated reporter, I am obligated to report any information I become aware of regarding alleged acts of sexual discrimination, including sexual violence and dating violence. [ASU Counseling Services](https://eoss.asu.edu/counseling) is available if you wish to discuss any concerns confidentially and privately.

**Academic Integrity**

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Thank you for reading to the end!

*This syllabus is subject to revision. Reading assignments in particular will be amended (added or shortened) during the course of the quarter. Announcements will be posted on the course website. It is your responsibility to keep informed about the class.*
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DAVID GRAEBER
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MIKE DAVIS
Offended Lands

... It is so much, so many
tombs, so much martyrdom, so much
galloping of beasts in the star!
Nothing, not even victory
will erase the terrible hollow of the blood:
nothing, neither the sea, nor the passage
of sand and time, nor the geranium flaming
upon the grave.

— Pablo Neruda (1937)
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THE THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS

An Economic Study of Institutions

BY

THORSTEIN VEBLEN

NEW YORK

B. W. HUEBSCH
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KARL MARX

Capital Volume I
KARL MARX was born at Trier in 1818 of a German-Jewish family converted to Christianity. As a student in Bonn and Berlin he was influenced by Hegel's dialectic, but he later reacted against idealist philosophy and began to develop his theory of historical materialism. He related the state of society to its economic foundations and mode of production, and recommended armed revolution on the part of the proletariat. In Paris in 1844 Marx met Friedrich Engels, with whom he formed a life-long partnership. Together they prepared the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848) as a statement of the Communist League's policy. In 1848 Marx returned to Germany and took an active part in the unsuccessful democratic revolution. The following year he arrived in England as a refugee and lived in London until his death in 1883. Helped financially by Engels, Marx and his family nevertheless lived in great poverty. After years of research (mostly carried out in the British Museum), he published in 1867 the first volume of his great work, *Capital*. From 1864 to 1872 Marx played a leading role in the International Working Men's Association, and his last years saw the development of the first mass workers' parties founded on avowedly Marxist principles. Besides the two posthumous volumes of *Capital* compiled by Engels, Karl Marx's other writings include *The German Ideology, The Poverty of Philosophy, The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, The Civil War in France, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy* and *Theories of Surplus-Value*.

ERNEST MANDEL was born in 1923. He was educated at the Free University of Brussels, where he was later Professor for many years, and the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. He gained his Ph.D. from the Free University of Berlin. He was a Member of the Economic Studies Commission of FGTB (Belgian TUC) from 1954 to 1963 and was chosen for the annual Alfred Marshall Lectures by Cambridge University in 1978. His many books include *The
Formation of the Economic Thought of Karl Marx, Late Capitalism, The Long Waves of Capitalist Development, The Second Slump and The Marxist Theory of Bureaucracy. His influential pamphlet, An Introduction to Marxist Economics, sold over half a million copies and was translated into thirty languages. Ernest Mandel died in July 1995. In its obituary the Guardian described him as 'one of the most creative and independent-minded revolutionary Marxist thinkers of the post-war world'. 
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Chronology of Works by Marx and Engels 1138
When Volume 1 of *Capital* was first published, capitalist industry, though predominant in a few Western European countries, still appeared as an isolated island encircled by a sea of independent farmers and handicraftsmen which covered the whole world, including the greater part even of Europe. What Marx's *Capital* explained, however, was above all the ruthless and irresistible impulse to growth which characterizes production for private profit and the predominant use of profit for capital accumulation. Since Marx wrote, capitalist technology and industry have indeed spread all over the world. As they have done so, moreover, not only have material wealth and the possibilities for freeing mankind definitely from the burden of meaningless, repetitive and mechanical work increased, but so too has the polarization of society between fewer and fewer owners of capital and more and more workers of hand and brain, forced to sell their labour-power to these owners. The concentration of wealth and power in a small number of giant industrial and financial corporations has brought with it an increasingly universal struggle between Capital and Labour.

Periodically the bourgeois class and its ideologues have thought they have found the stone of wisdom; have felt able, accordingly, to announce the end of crises and socio-economic contradictions in the capitalist system. But despite Keynesian techniques, notwithstanding all the various attempts to integrate the working class into late capitalism, for over a decade now the system has appeared if anything more crisis-ridden than when Marx wrote *Capital*. From the Vietnam war to the turmoil of the world monetary system; from the upsurge of radical workers' struggles in Western Europe since 1968 to the rejection of bourgeois values and culture by large numbers of young people throughout the world; from the ecology and energy crises to the recurrent economic re-
THE THEORY OF
THE LEISURE CLASS
BOOKS BY THORSTEIN VEBLEN

THE THEORY OF THE LEISURE CLASS
THE THEORY OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE
THE INSTINCT OF WORKMANSHIP
IMPERIAL GERMANY
   AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
THE NATURE OF PEACE
   AND THE TERMS OF ITS PERPETUATION
THE HIGHER LEARNING IN AMERICA
THE VESTED INTERESTS
   AND THE COMMON MAN
THE PLACE OF SCIENCE IN MODERN
   CIVILISATION
THE ENGINEERS AND THE PRICE SYSTEM
ABSENTEE OWNERSHIP AND BUSINESS
   ENTERPRISE IN RECENT TIMES
PREFACE

It is the purpose of this inquiry to discuss the place and value of the leisure class as an economic factor in modern life, but it has been found impracticable to confine the discussion strictly within the limits so marked out. Some attention is perforce given to the origin and the line of derivation of the institution, as well as to features of social life that are not commonly classed as economic.

At some points the discussion proceeds on grounds of economic theory or ethnological generalisation that may be in some degree unfamiliar. The introductory chapter indicates the nature of these theoretical premises sufficiently, it is hoped, to avoid obscurity. A more explicit statement of the theoretical position involved is made in a series of papers published in Volume IV of the American Journal of Sociology, on “The Instinct of Workmanship and the Irksomeness of Labour,” “The Beginnings of Ownership,” and “The Barbarian Status of Women.” But the argument does not rest on these — in part novel — generalisations in such a way that it would altogether lose its possible value as a detail of economic theory in case these novel generalisations should, in the reader’s apprehension, fall away through being insufficiently backed by authority or data.
Partly for reasons of convenience, and partly because there is less chance of misapprehending the sense of phenomena that are familiar to all men, the data employed to illustrate or enforce the argument have by preference been drawn from everyday life, by direct observation or through common notoriety, rather than from more recondite sources at a farther remove. It is hoped that no one will find his sense of literary or scientific fitness offended by this recourse to homely facts, or by what may at times appear to be a callous freedom in handling vulgar phenomena or phenomena whose intimate place in men's life has sometimes shielded them from the impact of economic discussion.

Such premises and corroborative evidence as are drawn from remoter sources, as well as whatever articles of theory or inference are borrowed from ethnological science, are also of the more familiar and accessible kind and should be readily traceable to their source by fairly well-read persons. The usage of citing sources and authorities has therefore not been observed. Likewise the few quotations that have been introduced, chiefly by way of illustration, are also such as will commonly be recognised with sufficient facility without the guidance of citation.
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Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life

STEVEN DEYLE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CARRY ME BACK
FOR MY PARENTS
CARRY ME BACK
TO OLD VIRGINNY
by James Bland
(1878)

Carry me back to old Virginny,
There's where the cotton and the corn and tatoes grow,
There's where the birds warble sweet in the springtime,
There's where this old darkey's heart am long'd to go,
There's where I labored so hard for old massa,
Day after day in the field of yellow corn,
No place on earth do I love more sincerely,
Than old Virginny, the state where I was born.
This page intentionally left blank
Any project that has been in the works as long as this one has far too many people to thank than can ever be fully expressed in a short acknowledgment like this. Still, a number of people do deserve special mention. This book began many years ago as a dissertation under the direction of Eric Foner at Columbia University. First and foremost, then, thanks need to be given to him for the excellent guidance that he has provided in encouraging and shaping this project. Only those of us who have had the privilege of working with him know how valuable his assistance can be. Thanks also to the late Jim Shenton and Eric McKitrick for their constructive criticisms of my work and to Alden Vaughan for his help in shaping my views on early American ideas about race.

I have also received incredible encouragement and support from several of my colleagues at Columbia. Most important are the debt and gratitude that I owe to Randy Bergstrom and David Mattern. Over the years, from our first seminar together to the present day, they have been consistent rocks of support and two of my closest friends. The same has proven true of Doron Ben-Atar, whose love of American history has been a real inspiration to me, and Tom Pearson, who offered me a place to stay on numerous trips to Boston. John Recchiuti has often believed more strongly in my work than I have, and Cheryl Greenberg provided important assistance in the early stages of this project. Bernadette McCauley has also become a good friend, and I thank her for allowing me to stay at her wonderful apartment in New York. Tim Gilfoyle and Cliff Hood likewise both deserve special thanks.

As with the publication of any book, numerous individuals have played major roles in bringing this project to fruition. The number of helpful archivists I’ve encountered are far too numerous to mention by name. Suffice it to say that their assistance has made my research on this book much more productive and enjoyable. Jon Pritchett not only shared his own research with me, but he also introduced me to several of the lesser known (and always wonderful) restaurants in New Orleans. Doug Egerton has likewise been a long-time supporter, and my work has benefited from his helpful suggestions. Over the
past decade, one of my great pleasures has been participating in the Bay Area Seminar in Early American History and Culture. Special thanks to Dee Andrews and the late Jackie Reinier. Susan Ferber at Oxford University Press has been the best editor that a writer could want, and she has come to my aid in more ways than she could have ever imagined when she agreed to take on this project.

Over the years, I have also received much support from the University of California, Davis. I am especially grateful for all of the financial aid I have received for my research. The Davis Humanities Institute also provided financial support and generously allowed me to share my ideas in its seminar on pre-modern worlds. Steve Oerding at IET Mediaworks likewise deserves thanks for being such a wizard at compiling the visual images in this book. Most rewarding, however, have been all of my interactions with the students at UCD, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Little did they realize how many of my arguments were worked out in our seminars, “Slavery and the Old South” and “Slavery and American Society.” I would especially like to thank all of the student research assistants who have worked on this project: R’lyeh Schanning, Kate Winchester, Kate Folker, Joe Alioto, Nicole Jones, Brady Price, Joe Sullivan, Mary Zahuta, Amy Takeuchi, and Renée Pyles. Courtney Goen provided valuable research assistance, and I also hope she realizes how much I have appreciated her encouragement and support over the years. Seth Rockman generously shared his own research and helped me to find my way through the various Maryland archives.

No writer could survive without the support of a warm network of friends. Foremost among these for me has been my companion, Betty Dessants. In addition to reading every word of this manuscript more times than she cares to remember, Betty has been my main pillar of support. Words can never express all of the gratitude I feel for having her play such an important part in my life. Another mainstay has been Bruce Berg. He is a true scholar, gentleman, and friend. Bill Carlson and Janet Morken have also been long-time friends and providers of aid in ways that they have probably never imagined. Thanks also to several other important people who have all provided support in their own way: Anne Bogert, Ross Stearn, the late Harold Abrahamsen, Jana Albert, Karen Dannewitz, Laurel Schmidt, Tara Kissane, and Bob and Gene Berkhofer. HCB and the BBC likewise played an important role in shaping my views today.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Henry and Shirley Deyle, as well as Gabe, Meghan, Janna, Rachel, Karissa, Daniel, Sarah, and especially Buddy. While they never read a word of this manuscript, nor even really understood what it is that I do, their presence in my life has made the writing of this book all the more enjoyable.
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AN INQUIRY
INTO THE
Nature and Causes
OF THE
WEALTH OF NATIONS.

By ADAM SMITH, LL.D. and F.R.S.
Formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow.

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**ADVERTISEMENT**

The first Edition of the following Work was printed in the end of the year 1775, and in the beginning of the year 1776. Through the greater part of the Book, therefore, whenever the present state of things is mentioned, it is to be understood of the state they were in, either about that time, or at some earlier period, during the time I was employed in writing the Book. To this third Edition, however, I have made several additions, particularly to the chapter upon Drawbacks, and to that upon Bounties; likewise a new chapter entitled, *The Conclusion of the Mercantile System*; and a new article to the chapter upon the expences of the sovereign. In all these additions, the present state of things means always the state in which they were during the year 1783 and the beginning of the present year 1784.1

1 The new material to be included in edition 3 is described by Smith in Letter 227 addressed to William Strahan, dated 22 May 1783 and in Letter 228, addressed to Thomas Cadell, dated 7 December 1782.
FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE

Friedrich Nietzsche was born in 1844 in Röcken (Saxony), Germany. He studied philology at the universities of Bonn and Leipzig, and in 1869 was appointed to the chair of classical philology at the University of Basel, Switzerland. Ill health led him to resign his professorship ten years later. His works include The Birth of Tragedy, Thus Spoke Zarathustra, Beyond Good and Evil, On the Genealogy of Morals, The Case of Wagner, Twilight of the Idols, The Antichrist, Nietzsche contra Wagner, and Ecce Homo. He died in 1900. The Will to Power, a selection from his notebooks, was published posthumously.

WALTER KAUFMANN

Walter Kaufmann was born in Freiburg, Germany, in 1921, came to the United States in 1939, and studied at Williams College and Harvard University. In 1947 he joined the faculty of Princeton University, where he became a professor of philosophy. He held many visiting professorships, including Fulbright grants at Heidelberg and Jerusalem. His books include Critique of Religion and Philosophy, From Shakespeare to Existentialism, The Faith of a Heretic, Cain and Other Poems, Hegel, Tragedy and Philosophy, and Nietzsche: Philosopher, Psychologist, Antichrist, as well as verse translations of Goethe’s Faust and Twenty German Poets. He translated all of the books by Nietzsche listed in the biographical note above. He died in 1980.
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Introduction

PETER GAY

Ever since Nietzsche went insane, and silent, in 1889, as his fame was beginning to spread, his ideas have been most things to most men. Literally—for on the subject of women, interpretations of his views can hardly differ very much: he was an incurable misogynist. Nor could devout Christians derive any comfort from his writings, which are centrally preoccupied with a destructive analysis of Christianity, its birth, its triumph, its unfortunate longevity. As for principled democrats, they too cannot find much to please them in his work: whatever conclusion one may reach in the end about Nietzsche’s political thinking, it calls for the distinct separation of an elite and the masses.

But existentialists and nihilists, chauvinists and cosmopolitans, anti-Semites and philo-Semites, Francophiles and professional Teutons, Wagnerites and Brahmsians, nature worshipers and pragmatists, followers of Freud and his critics, have been struggling over his legacy for a century and more. They cannot all be right; in fact, most of them are wrong, dining off a few scraps that Nietzsche had thrown them in a careless mood. But this has not stopped them from arguing.

Yet even in the less than angrily controversial domains, Nietzsche’s work has been at the mercy of ideologists of all stripes. What is Nietzsche’s evidence for women’s presumed inferiority? What is the reason for his anti-Christian bent? What kind of elite is he calling for? Beyond that, when it comes to the theory of knowledge, is he an absolute skeptic? Do his generalizations about nations support racism? Why does he do his utmost to distance himself from the Germany of his time? And what of Wagner, first his friend and then his enemy? The questions pile up and there are all too many answers canceling each other out.

There is of course nothing new or unexpected concerning battles about the meaning of a thinker’s work. One recalls Plato, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Rousseau, Hegel, and the debates that their “real” message has generated across the centuries. But Nietzsche’s thought has been particularly susceptible to often envenomed controversies, generating incompatible claims about the influence of that thought not only on recent philosophy, but also, and more portentously, on recent politics.

Why? As readers of this volume can readily discover for themselves, Nietzsche was a superb stylist. Writing as trenchantly as he did, he was the antithesis of the traditional German professor, with his heavy vocabulary, serpentine sentences, and convoluted reasoning. But, paradoxical as it may sound, Nietzsche wrote too well for his own good. He coined memorable aphorisms and seductive locutions that have been used against him—by and large unfairly. Even if (indeed, especially if) we do not know much about Nietzsche, we are likely to remember his terms: “the blond beast,” which can easily be taken as a sample of Aryan megalomania, or the “Übermensch,” usually translated as